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New York Daily Tribunc

MONDAY, AUGUST 12, 1861.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

No notice can be taken of Anonymous Communications. What ever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the rame and address of the writer-not necessarily for publics ion, but as a guaranty for his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected Communications. All business letters for this office should be addressed to "THE

The Republican State Convention.

The Republican Electors of the State of New-York, and all others willing to unite with them in support of the Gov ernment and a vigorous prosecution of the war, are requested to choose two delegates from each Assembly Dis Let, to meet in State Convention in the City of Syracuse, on WEDNESDAY, the lith sky of September, 1861, at 11 a.m., for the purpose of presenting c indicates a be supported for the offices of Judges of the Court of Appeal. Secretary of State, Controller, Attercey-General, State Engineer and Surveyor, State Treasurer, tw Canal Commissioners, and Impector of State Prisons. By order of the Committee. SIMEON DRAPER, Chairman. James TRRWILLIGER, Secretary.

The Sunday Tribune.

The following are the contents of yesterday's LEADING ARTICLES:

e Latest War News; Facts; Rebel Privateering; John Bull and Endl Run; Why Gotton is King; A New Heress in Evidence; The Two Civilizations; Editorial Pa agraphs. THE WAR FOR THE UNION:

Gen. Garibaldi Comi g. He Offers to Fight for the Nation;
He is Accepted and Made Major-General; Prince Naporeon Among the Rebels; How they Pumped his Driver; Supervision of the Telegraph; Gen. Wool Gress to Ferrices Mource; Assasination of Pickers; From Western Virginia; Scremade to the Hon. Galushs

HIGHLY IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE:
The Benes & Fortilying Matthias Print; The Potentic to be
Clored; Secsion at Work in Maryland; Washington
to be Cut Off.

NEW PUBLICATIONS:

An English View of Slavery and Secession; Books Re LITERARY AND ARTISTIC.

PERSONAL.

THE STATE OF EUROPE: Letter from Our Own Correspondent

FRANCE: Letter from Our Own Correspondent.

CORRESPONDENCE:
The Ohio Democratic Convention: The Battle of AthensThe Union Forces Triomphant Against Large Odds
A first Account of the 79th at Bull Run; The De Kall
Recliment; A Letter from Mr. S. Teakle Wallis; The
Cotton Bugbear.

LATEST TELEGRAPHIC DISPATCHES. LOCAL MULITARY MATTERS.

FROM MARYLAND:

The New Peace Party; Its Purposes; Hopes of the Unionities, Superstition of the Secessionists; Movements of Troops.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN:
Reports of Commanders of Divisions. MISCELLANEOUS:

The Country Flooded with Counterfeit Bills: The Recent Centus of the United Klugden; The Gold Fields of British North America; A New Rome to Washington; The Battle of Manassas. The African Slave-Trade; Queer Doings in the Appraiser's Department at San Francisco.

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THE TRIBUNE, New-York.

Tribune for California and the Pacific

We shall issue an edition of THE TRIBUNE this morning for circulation on the Pacific Coast, California, and Oregon. It will contain the latest war and other important news. Copies can be procured at the desk in the Counting-Reom.

The Hon, Joseph Holt was at Oswego on Saturday. He there had an enthusiastic impromptu reception by 5,000 citizens, in answer to whose greetings be said a few cheering words.

From St. Domingo we have advices to the 25th ult., stating that the war between Havti and Spain is at an end, the difficulties between the two countries being amicably adjusted. The Spanish authorities declare Slavery forever abolished in the Island, and threaten with severe penalties any person endeavoring to reinstate the

We give this morning a number of additional reports of brigade and staff officers, which still further explain the causes of our reverse at the battle of Bull Run. They also set at rest some questions relative to our preparations and the successes gained by the Rebels, which have hitherto been in dispute. The report of the Sub-istence Department, for example, discloses the fact that 160,000 complete rations were issued to the army on Friday, an amount sufficient to sustain it for four days, but that the regimental commissaries, in many cases, neglected to draw their portions, which remained at the headquarters of divisions and brigades. The report of Major Barry, chief of the artillery, shows that his whole force consisted of 49 pieces, so that the Rebel exultations over the capture of some 60 or 70 guns were as baseless as their alimentary joys in respect of the fabulous dinners found at Centreville. Col. Keyes and Col. Sherman supply most interesting accounts of the action of their brigades, and the statement of Major Sykes for the first time puts the honorable conduct of the little battalion of regulars before the world.

In confirmation of reports we have already

which depict the deplorable demestic and social condition Secession has brought upon the people, an intelligent correspondent, whose letter is printed in another column, gives many interesting facts in regard to affairs in Texas, the Indian Territory, and Missouri, through which he has recently traveled. A positive reign of terror prevails in the latter State. Homes are deserted, and the promising crops stand ungathered in the fields. Flight and terror and despair are the rule of the day. The Rebels are in no condition to meet the accumulating force of loyalists, and desertions in disgust are frequent. Among the Indians John Ross, with his powerful tribe, stands in a strictly neutral attitude. This correspondent states that Gen. Sam. Houston can find no exercise for his sentiments in the national crisis, and leads a dormant home-life, not telling a soul what he thinks or feels, or whether he thinks or

No one will grudge the large space we give in this morning's paper to the speech of Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, who will take the trouble to read it. If it wants the grace of rhetoric and the elegance of a finished style, there is quite as much of these as could be expected from a man whose early life was spent on a tailor's shop-board, who earned his living by his needle long before he could read, who was self-taught even in the simplest rudiments of education, who pever in all his life had a single day's schooling, and who has risen to his present station simply by the energy of his own character and the vigor of his own mind. But the speech has, nevertheless, that basis of all true eloquence, a most vigorous common-sense, a power of keen analysis, a clearness of statement, and a power putting strong thought into plain and appropriate, though sometimes homely, language. It sweeps away sophistries like cobwebs, strips treason of all its disguises, leaving it without even a figment to cover its nakedness. Mr. Johnson is a practical man, and relies more upon facts than upon arguments. He goes by the record, and shows by chapter and verse, by article and line, that the allegation of the Secessionists, and their Northern friends of the Richmond and Cagger school, of any "Northern sectionalism," of any design to infringe upon Southern Constitutional rights, is utterly and absurdly false. So far from this being true, he shows by documentary evidence that the grievance of the South is the existance of a Republican Government; that they do not mean to tolerate any Government not in subjection to that interest which finds its model in South Carolina, where a man must have a fee simple in ten of his fellow-creatures before he is qualified to be a legislator. The times have brought no clearer and no more philosophical statement of the whole case than this speech of the Senator from Tennessee. Its closing appeal for protection to the loyal men of his own State, whom he so nobly represents, should find an answer in the heart of every man who loves his country.

THE LATEST WAR NEWS.

We have nothing of great importance from Washington, the rule laid down by Gen. McClellan preventing the publication of any information touching intended movements. We hear of the Rebels that there are but two regiments of infactry at Fairfax Court-House, and that there are no fortifications of any strength on or near the battle-field of Bull Run. The entreachments at Manassas Junction are said not to be for-

Secretary Cameron has sent to Gen. Butler a letter of instructions, which we publish this morning. The subject of communication is the treatment of fugitive slaves. The instructions of Mr. Cameron are in effect these: To consider all such negroes as have belonged to rebels as confiscated, according to the recent act of Congress; to hold such as appear to be the property of loyal citizens till further instructions are given, keeping a record of them, their services, and the cost of their maintenance; to allow no interby the soldiers with the slaves; to report twice a month to the Department concerning

From Fortress Monroe we learn that the George B. Baker of Galveston has been taken there, with a Rebel crew of four in irons. The Baker was captured by a United States vessel, off Galveston, while attempting to run the blockade. The privateer York afterward took her as she was coming to New-York, and put on board a prize crew. The United States gunboat Union chased the York, and succeeded in burning ber, though the crew escaped; the gunboat retook the Baker, and seized the four men spoken of above. Lieut. Crosby, who four days ago set out with an expedition for the shore of Eastern Virginia, had not on Saturday been heard from, but no fears of his safety were entertained. We learn that a white woman, an invalid, was burnt to death at the destruction of Hampton.

From Fort Pickens we have a word or two of news by the schooner Wm. S. Tisdale, which has recently landed ordnance stores at the Fort. Her advices contain nothing of importance; the health and spirits of the National troops are good, and the rebels are diligently strengthening their position. The Captain of the schooner states that, on the 8th inst., off Cape Hatteras, he was chased by's Southern pirate, who fired several guns at the vessel, none of the shots, however, doing any harm.

We print this morning another private letter from Col. Corceran, which contains lists of the prisoners at Richmond.

From Missouri we have no news of further fighting, though a battle with the Rebels was hourly expected, our troops being on their arms and having everything in readiness for moving at a moment's notice. The enemy was at Wilson Creek, thirteen miles from Springfield.

THE CANT OF COMPROMISE.

In times of trial and of peril, the need of plain, unambiguous language is peculiarly imperative. He who "palters in a double sense" with reference to the momentous issues whereon is staked the life of the Nation is guilty not only of falsehood but of moral treason.

What do they mean, then, who still talk of a Compromise with the armed, defiant treason which now threatens the very existence of the Republic?

No one in the revolted States openly speaks,

or dare speak of a Compromise. The very idea of one is there unanimously scouted. Hate of the North, execuation of the North, defiance of the North, destruction to the North, are the universal outcries. No distinction of person or party is tolerated: The Herald is execrated equally with THE TRIBUNE; The New-York Obpublished from various sections of the South server with The Independent. Even The Journal

of Commerce-such is the prevailing ignorance and blind fury-is not tolerated in the dominions of Jeff. Davis. To be severed from the Free States-rid of the North, thoroughly and forever-such is the burthen of every utterance allowed to reach us from the revolted States. And there can be no reason to doubt that, so far as the dominant faction in those States is concerned, this aspiration is perfectly sincere. And as to the crushed-out, ragged; battered Union men of the South, their opinions and wishes are for the present of no more consequence than those of so many animals. Practically, then, the revolted States are a unit in demanding-not concessions, not a compromise, but the full and final dissolution of the Union.

They who among us talk of Compromise in full view of the existing attitude of the revolt mean acquiescence in disunion, or they are swindling themselves and others. They mean at least that the South American system of revising and testing every Presidential Election by a revolt of the defeated party shall here be inaugurated as one of our institutions. For if one election is to be followed by a revolt, and that revolt shall impose terms on the Government, it were absurd to suppose that the success of the revolters would not inspire others to follow their example. Concession to the rebels as the price of their return to loyalty would sanctify their revolt, admit its justice, and exalt it into a precedent for defeated politicians through all coming time. Even to restore the semblance of Union by such truckling would be to admit and establish the right of each defeated faction in turn to defy and destroy it. No-there can be no compromise, for there is

no ground on which to make one. The rebels must either be beaten and forced to sue for mercy, or they must beat the Government and carry off a third of the Republic permanently, as Satan is said to have drawn after him is his rebellion a third of the host of Heaven. If they succeed, the Nation is humbled, dismembered and cast down from its place among the Great Powers of Christendom. If they are defeated, the right of the Nation to exist is vindicated, its foreign and domestic enemies confounded, and its place among the powers of the earth will be higher and more assured than ever. The success of the rebellion will supplant one great nation by two relatively insignificant; it will degrade the South even more than the North, which would still retain a vast preponderance in population, wealth, industry and power. There is scarcely an acre, there is never a slave, in all Secessia. that would not be diminished in value by the success of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. And more than this-Slavery itself, through the advancement of the line of absolute refuge for the hunted fugitive from the Lakes to the Ohio, will thereafter have but a precarious and transient existence. If the slaveholders could but see-if their vision had not been sealed against truth obvious to everybody else-they would make haste to abandon their rebellious attitude for one of loyalty and peace, if for no other end than the conservation of their peculiar institution." While they remain loyally in the Union, they will always have guaranties in the Constitution and a powerful mercantile and partisan support in the North. If they succeed in cutting adrift from the Union, they evidently mean to trade with us to the least possible extent, and to import directly from Europe Who does not see that this will naturally deprive

them of any party in the Free-States. Whatever the issue of this contest may be, it must impose heavy public burdens on North and South alike; and those burdens Slavery-whether or out of the Union-must help to bear. Whether it take the form of export duties on slave produce or any other, it is scarcely possible that slaves will ever again command the prices for which they were eagerly bought last year. The early defeat or surrender of the rebels may secure to Slavery a further life-lease of a generation or two; Disunion will work its rum in the course of a few years. But be this as it may, there remains no alternative but the defeat he rebels or their absolute triumph; an who at this day talk of a Compromise as possi ble in the premises either use words without definite meaning or, under the term Compromise disguise an intent to commend and acquiesce in a dissolution of the Union. And if they do mean this, is not their ambiguity a plain confession that they know what they propose to be too odious to bear explicit avowal?

THE TWO ARMIES.

In grouping together a few obvious facts con cerning the land forces of the belligerents in the pending war, our object is to encourage men of the first class, but none other, to join the National army.

I. Our rank and file, under the recent law of Congress, are better paid than any other troops in the world. Thirteen dollars per month for privates would be deemed extravagant by any foreign government.

II. The officers, regimental and line, are, with some exceptions, nearly as well paid as those in European nations. But, as American battle-fields have so often proved the high-road to political distinction, the pecuniary compensation is deemed ample by ambitious men.

III. Though there is no sufficient reason why our troops should not be better fed and housed and more tenderly cared for when sick and wounded, than they now are, they are nearly a well provided for in those respects as the bes armies of the most martial nations of the world while, in each of these particulars, our camp and hospitals are undergoing a steady improve-

IV. Our volunteers are composed of as good fighting materials as ever followed a chieftain to the field. They combine the steadiness and stubborness of the English, with the dash and daring of the French. Indeed, our army comprizes large numbers of men from the races whence European governments have recruited their best soldiers, such as Irish, Scotch, Germans, French, Hungariaus, Italians, and the like, and it has in its ranks both officers and privates who have performed deeds of valor in some of the hottest engagements on the other side of the Atlantic.

V. Though it is doubtless true, that under the fervor of the first outbreak of patriotic enthusiasm, some officers hastily assumed the commands for which they have since proved incompetent, this error will be cured so soon as severer tests of qualification come to be rigidly and impartially applied. Stern measures will be hereafter employed to select as leaders of our columns men worthy of the brave and intelligent masses who are to follow.

So much for the salient features of the Federal

Southern States. Though their soldiers have not the general intelligence, nor the cool valor of those of the North, nevertheless, the men of that section are accustomed to the use of deadly weapons, are proverbially reckless of human life, and exhibit in large measure that dare-devilism which is potent in a sharp, heady, desperate

II. Their officers, both of the higher and lower grades, are, we presume, fully equal to ours, Of the old army, Secession carried off the greater share of educated military men. We incline to the opinion that a large proportion of men from the higher and more conspicuous ranks of society, held miner offices in the Rebel army than in ours. Doubtless there is quite as much, perhaps more, esprit du corps in their line officers as in

III. The Rebels are now superior to us in cavalry. The South and South-West are famous for furnishing bold riders. The comparatively primitive condition of the country in regard to railways, stage-coaches, and other means of publie conveyance, makes them a nation of accomplished equestrians.

IV. In sharpshooters, experts with the rifle, they excel the better cultivated and more industrious States of the North-East, whose people are too busy in improving their farms, sailing their ships, and running their mills to idle away their time in hunting.

V. As to the important arm of artillery, the Confederates have plenty of heavy guns which they stole from us, beside many of smaller caliber. They are also able to manufacture considerable quantities. And they have in their ranks some of the best artillerists and engineers in the old army. Sumter and Bull Run have proved that they know how to use cannon of large and light caliber.

VI. They are undoubtedly troubled to obtain a full supply of muskets, rifles, and revolvers, of the most approved patterns, notwitstanding the large quantities they filehed during the treasonable adpinistration of Floyd. But, they have several hundred thousand of the best arms recently manufactured at Springfield and Harper's Ferry, and, with the machinery stolen from the latter armory, they are able to turn out a very efficient article. They have a manufactory in South Carolina, called the ' Palmetto Armory," which furnished some of the best muskets used at Bull Run.

VII. As to provisions, though the blockade, if efficiently enforced, will deprive them of some luxuries, a fruitful season will supply them probably with an abundance of "hog and hominy," the great staples upon which those who compose the ody of their army, have been accustomed to rely.

VIII. Finally, we think they will fight, and fight desperately, too, because they go into battle with halters around their necks and gibbets be-

Such are some of the characteristics and resources of our foe, and thus he appears when placed in juxtaposition with our own brave army. Though he has little credit abroad, and feeble monetary means at home, he will struggle with the desperation of despair to acquire the one and supply the other. Let us not underrate either his genius or his prowess. Rather let us feel that to overthrow him is no holiday task, but will require the use of all the appliances and advantages authorized by the usages of war. Knowing that he is engaged in a wanton rebellion against the most beneficent Government on earth, let us be cheered to the work of subduing his revolt by the reflection that we are thereby promoting the cause of chil and religious freedom for ourselves and for all men.

WITHOUT HONOR IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

It is hard to understand, as it is humiliating o witness, the rancor of The New-York Times toward the New-York Fire Zouaves. Admitting that the disparaging statement which is quoted from the report of Col. Heintzelman with so d conclusive one-admitting that a loss of two hundred men is no proof of active fighting, and that all the testimony of the Rebels to the desperate valor and endurance of the Zouaves, and Il the malignity with which the foe has followed them even to their captivity mean nothing whatever, it would still seem to be an unwarrantable insult to proclaim, as The Times does, the " End

of Them," in exultant capitals, and to make light of their services. Simple justice may, perhaps, be at a discount with the editor of that journal, but discreet judgment and good taste might certainly be extended toward even the shortcomings of the Union Volunteers. A true soldier will esteem it equally contemptible to vaunt his own deeds, and to decry those of his comrades. Even if the editor of The Times had seen with his own eyes cowardice and inefficiency among the Zouaves, which does not seem to have been the case, it would ill become him to add to the natural discouragement of a reverse by their

Such severe strictures as that "the Fire Zonaves were just about the worst men in the army, the most reckless in their behavior, the least amenable to discipline, the most discontented and complaining, the first to run from the field, and the loudest braggarts after they " had left it," are the more remarkable, because The Times seems to appreciate fully the wisdom of cheerfulness just at this juncture, of crediting the returned soldiers with honorable patriotism and zeal, and of inspiring them to renew their sacrifices on the altar of their country. Close beside the gross attack on the are boys, which we have quoted, we find an article the whole force of which is directed to the reculistment of "these "brave fellows." Every three months' man is solicited to " feel it his duty to serve again-a sacred duty to his country in her hour of "danger," and he has the bright reward held out to him that "he shall return again, to "prouder ovations and a grander welcome, with the laurels of a whole campaign of victory upon his brow, etc." It may be doubted whether the thousands of brave fellows in this city, who stand ready to follow the Fire Zousves to the field, will quite understand this sort of talk-whether they will care for such laurels as abuse and detraction, the generous bounty of The Times-whether it may not depress the cause of the Union quite below the point of enthusiasm, not to speak of reenlistment, to criticise sharply the conduct of these "brave fellows" on the field.

The Times offers as a reason for the disgraceful behavior of the regiment that " it was made up of men without character, who had been dis-I. They have excellent bearing a serials in the "to make good soldiers." This is precisely the the perpetual nurse of public virtue. We do is very likely that Lord John may be popularly

Rebel view of it. The mechanics of our Northern cities are "mudsills." The firemen who risk life in defense of our life and property are "gorillas," It does not matter that they were among the very first to offer their services to the Government, or that they gave up good employment to go to the War. They are still "men "without character." They can't be made either gentlemen or soldiers.

We are as ready as The Times to admit that the Fire Zouaves, like all recruits, need better drill and discipline. But we cannot, and possibly the Zouaves who are yet in embryo in New-York cannot, agree that there is an " End of Them ' because they are below the standard of the " crack regiments."

STILL SLAVERING SLAVERY. A great while ago we were told with admira-

ble gravity that during the War for the Union

all questions of Slavery should be put in abey-

ance; but the men who were the first to dictate

this golden rule, have been the first to violate it. Some scolding tongues it is not in the power of gods or men to silence; and some chronic grumblers are proof even against the prudence which adversity generally teaches to all. Thus, we find a certain atrabilious Boston newspaper-which, perhaps, it is not necessary to name-attributing all our woes to the impatient philanthropy of silly enthusiasts." It is hardly pretended that Slavery is not an evil. The argument is that it is a good evil-that it is an evil which must be respected, coddled, and extenuated—that it is an evil about which many fine things may be said; and, above all, that it is an evil which it will be perfectly proper to attack to-morrow, but which t would be highly reprehensible to attack to-day. This view of any subject less serious would be amusing. This reversal of all ordinary moral rules by which the burden of defense is transferred from the dock to the bench has had no parallel since Æsop's wolf charged the lamb with roiling the stream. We are to forget all the history and all the philosophy of the subject. We are to forget that during the last half century many of the freest denouncers of Slavery have themselves been slaveholders. We are to forget, although no social interest has received such liberal concessions, yet that none has been so continually exacting. For nine-tenths of the Anti-Slavery agitation, Slavery is itself responsible. It has given us no peace. It has been satisfied by no compromise. The policy of the Government has been changed fifty times to conciliate it, and it has still remained disl yal. There have been questions of territory, and there have been questions of tariff: and in respect of either, the South has had substantially its own way. Yet it bas still been discontented and quarrelsome; still jealous of Northern properity and blind to the causes of that poverty which we have not charged upon it, but about which its newspapers and public men have always been indecorously prating. The restlessness of wrong-doing has continually haunted it; and like all criminals it has sought to make one crime cover another. Secession, though now exhibite! upon a larger scale, is no new thing. Virtually, it was Secession to violate the United States mails; to defy the authority of the Federal Courts, as in the case of South Carolina, in the matter of colored seamen; to spit upon the Constitution by withholding the protection of the State to citizens of the United States. The audacity of passion which has so often disturbed the serenity of the Senate, had by no means schooled itself to silence before the election of a Republican President: but for years it has disturbed del beration and sought to bridle debate. But Slavery was not content with this. A great party which for term after term secured the Government, this institution claimed to hold in fee-simple-dictating its nominations, coloring its policy and controlling its leaders. This could not forever last. The crisis came in the Charleston much emphasis into yesterday's issue is a fair a life of vassalage and of bond service without he has held ever since. consideration, struck for its liberty and died in the struggle, leaving Slavery without an organized defense in the Northern States. Was this the fault of the Republican party? Did not rather these reckless and passionate men strip themselves of alliance, and themselves throw away friends in the hour of utmost need But even these aggressions and this ingratitude

still left the Slave States with many scattered but powerful supporters in the North-newspapers ready to say anything for peace, clergymen ready to preach anything for quiet-politicians till with faith in a speedy return of the good old knee-erooking, lick-spittle times. All these Secession has either silenced or rendered too contemptible for a hearing. All these the Seceding South has thrown away. Now, we say that this exhibits a fatuity for which no opposition can be blamed. We will suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the Seceding States had acquiesced in the election of Mr. Lincoln, not cordially, for that would have been too much to expect, but with a sullen and watchful imperturbability, varied only by an occasional oath or an episodical assault. Is there any one who thicks that slave property would not at this moment have been as safe as ever, and infinitely safer than it now is !-that the Constitution would not still have retained the general respect of Congress-that relying upon the honor of the North, which never, under the utmost temptation, had failed them, these now traitorous States might not have preserved at least their old prosperity, and might not have secured all the peace which so bad a social system permitted! Is there any one who knows the love and reverence of the North for the Union, who doubts

-But this would not have been pleasant to the sore souls of a haudful of Catilines-of men bred to the love of irresponsible power upon the plantation and restive under the control even of the Constitution itself. This would not have suited the purposes of course natures trained to violence and unaccustomed to reason. The great academy of tyranny spawned its graduates, and they were ripe for treason from the egg. They could kill, they could burn, and they could plunder-and what other qualifications does a patriot desire And it is an institution moulding such men as these, which, if it had been left entirely alone, would have secured us a political millenium Had we been quiet, they had not been violent; had we been considerate, they had not been ambitious; had we been friendly, they had never been foes. Show us a man fatuous enough to believe this, and we will show you one whose opinion, perhaps, is hardly worth considering.

It has been claimed that the institution of "law at home, and who were therefore expected Slavery is the fruitful mother of patriots, and enough for the shade of Tom, probably. And is

not wonder that recent illustrations of these formulas have rendered their supporters somewhat impatient. A crime is a crime, and treason is treason, just as certainly as a rope is a rope. Severe injuries may dignify rebellion, and a blow for redress may canonize rebels in history; but the injuries must be proved; and when they are not proved-when, for trivial causes, war is proclaimed against a Government long established, then the rebel is entitled-entitled to what? To fine-spun declamations about his injuries? to emollient essays setting forth his provocations? to the aid and comfort of men against whose lives and fortunes and homes and children be has aimed a felonious blow? we go about seeking for extenuations of so food and unnecessary a violence in a country of universal suffrage? Some men-if they be menseem to think so; but, conservative as they complacently think themselves to be, we tell them that upon no better foundation than their political notions, no free government could stand for

LORD JOHN.

So Lord John has ceased to be. He has been translated to a higher sphere and is known ne more below by his long familiar name. For though there may be many Lord Johns among the younger sprouts of the higher nobility, there has been none other whose bare baptismal distinguished him from among the crowd. As there was but one Sir Robert among the multitude of baronets so christened, so there has been but one Lord John within the memory of mediaval man. Young England, indeed, made Lord John Manners somewhat notorious a few years ago, when he led the movement for the bringing back of very Old England again, and when he sung to

"Let arts and sciences and commerce die, But leave us still our old nobility;"

but his potoriety was a brief one, and he neve achieved the eminence which made his patrosymic a superfluous designation. Lord John Russell has now been hard upon forty years a prominent public man, and for more than thirty a very prominent one. It seems like parting with an old friend, to think that we shall see his name no more in the details of the House of Commons, of which he has seen the whole and been so large a part for so many years of Lord John has had a long life of public ser-

vice in Parliament and in the administration of affairs. He was not educated at either of the English Universities, but in Edinburgh, where his hereditary Whiggery was nourished by the society of Jeffrey, and the circle gathered underneath the shadow of the great blue and buff Review. He was desired for political life, and foreordained to be one of the upholders of the principles and policy of the great Revolution families. Accordingly, he was brought into Parlament as soon as he was of age, in 1843, for the family borough of Tavistock, for which he sat till 1819, becoming a member for the County of Huntingtonshire in 1820. Losing his seat at the election of 1826, when Cauning came intepower, he sat that Parliament for the borough of Bandon Bridge, in Ireland, which small constituency he represented at the opening of the Reform Bill campaign. On the first dissolution after the fall of the Duke of Wedlington, Lord John was carried by the advancing wave of Whiggery into a seat for the North Division of Devenshire, which he changed in 1832, at the final triumph of the bill, for the South Division of the same county, which he represented until 1835. On accepting the Chiltern Hundreds upon his appointment as Home Secretary under Lord Melbourne, he lost his election, and took refuge in the Borough of Stroud, which was vacated for him by Colonel, now Major-General, Fox, a son of Lord Holland, and son-in-law of the King. There he remained until the dissolution of 1841, when he was chosen one of the mem-Convention, and the Democratic party, weary of bers for London, which eminent political position

For nearly twenty years of his parliamentary life Lord John sat on the opposition benches and helped in what seemed the almost hopeless warfare upon the Tory ascendancy. But liberal opinion took a fresh start after the death of Lord Liverpool, and though Canning perished under the weight of authority and the fury of the assaults made upon bim, yet the Duke of Wellington was forced to concede the repeal of the Lot and Corporation acts, and even of the Catholic disabilities. Parliamentary Reform next stood knocking at the door. The Duke refused to open it, and had to give way to Earl Grey and the dynasty of the Whigs. Lord John then received the lucrative post of Paymaster of the Forces, once honored by the holding of Burke, with a seat in the Privy Council. On the reconstruction of the Whig Ministry, on the failure of Sir Robert Peel to maintain himself in power, under Lord Melbourne, in 1835, he was Home Secretary, and afterward Colonial Secretary, until Sir Robert came in for five years in 1841. In 1846 Sir Robert went out, and Lord John reached the top of his ambition as Prime Minister. He was First Lord of the Treasury, for about six years, being run out by Lord Derby, in February 1852. On Lord Aberdeen's accession to power in the next December, Lord John had a seat in his Cabinet during his administration, part of the time without office, and as Foreign Secretary, Colonial Secretary and President of the Council. When Lord Aberdeen went out and Lord Palmerston came in, in February 1855, Lord John remained Colonial Secretary for a few months and then resigned and remained out of place three or four years, returning again in 1859 as Foreign Secretary, which office he held at the time of his elevation to the peerage.

It will be seen, therefore, that his lordship has had a very reasonable number of thick slices of cake, and very plummy ones, too. It was well for him, and not ill for his country, that he heeded Tom Moore's Remonstrance, forty years ago, against an idea he had intimated-not very fixed one, probably-of giving up public life, in the spirited stanzas beginning-

"What! thou with they geains, thy youth, and they as Thou, born of a Russell, whose instinct to run The accustemed career of thy sires is the same As the eaglets to soar with his eyes on the sun."

He was always a true friend to Moore, though his life of him-which contends with Bishop Ton line's Life of Pitt as the worst biography in the English language-may seem to be an odd way of showing it. But, as Knickerbocker said of the Governor's jcke, that it was well enough for a Governor, so his Life of Moore, though not much of a Life, may be good enough for a Prime Minister. But his name in the title page was